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ABSTRACT

This article relates four incidents drawn from cultural lore of different countries and demonstrates the interrelatedness of international folklore. The historio-geographical method, also known as the Finnish school, of comparative folklore is discussed in the analysis of the four cultural items. Language teachers are advised of ways in which materials of this nature can be applied to their courses in secondary school language programs. (RL)

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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FOLKLORE*

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Ladies and gentlemen,

There was an Irishman out looking for a government job. So he went up to one fellow, an' he said, "Look a here, I've been voting for you all me life. I ought to get a job of you." So the man said, "I guess we've got something for you to do, but before I give you the job you have to answer three questions. Now you go home and consider the questions, then come back tomorrow with the answers. And if you answer them correctly you get the job." Pat said, "Go on with your questions." The man said, "The first is, the weight of the moon. The second is, how many stars are in the sky. And the last is, what I'll be thinking on when you come." So the next morning the Irishman come back. He found the old fellow in. He said, "Well, Pat, I guess you thought of what I told you. Now let's hear your answers. The first question was, 'How much does the moon weigh?' Well, how much?" The Irishman said, "One hundred weight." . . . "One hundred weight! Why how do you make that out?" Pat said, "Well, the moon has four quarters, and four quarters make a hundred, don't they?" The man said, "I guess you're right. Well, now, answer the second question. How many stars are in the sky?" The Irishman said, "Seven billion, eight thousand million, four hundred and fifty-two thousand." The man said, "How now, how do you make that?" "Well," said the Irishman, "if you don't believe me, you can go count them yourself." "That's right, that's right," said the old fellow. "We'll let that pass. But how about the last question. What am I thinking?" . . . . . "Well, you think that I'm Pat, but I'm his brother Mike!" . . . It wasn't Pat. He had sent his brother Mike to answer the questions.

Now listen to this:

Es war einmal ein Hirtenbübchen, das war wegen seiner weisen Antworten, die es auf alle Fragen gab, weit und breit berühmt. Der König des Landes hörte auch davon, glaubte es nicht und liess das Bübchen kommen. Da sprach er zu ihm 'kannst du mir auf drei Fragen, die ich dir vorlegen will, Antwort geben, so will ich dich ansehen wie mein eigen Kind, und du sollst bei mir in meinem königlichen Schloss wohnen.' Sprach das Büblein 'wie lauten die drei Fragen?' Der König sagte 'die erste lautet: wie viel Tropfen Wasser sind in dem Weltmeer?' Das Hirtenbüblein antwortete 'Herr König, lasst alle Flüsse auf der Erde verstopfen, damit kein Tröpflein mehr daraus ins Meer lauft, das ich nicht erst gezählt habe, so will ich Euch sagen, wie viel Tropfen im Meere sind.' Sprach der König 'die andere Frage lautet: wie viel Sterne stehen am Himmel?' Das Hirtenbübchen sagte 'gebt mir einen grossen Bogen weiss Papier,' und dann machte es mit der Feder so viel feine Punkte darauf, dass sie kaum zu sehen und fast gar nicht zu zählen waren und einem die Augen vergingen, wenn man darauf blickte. Darauf sprach es 'so viel Sterne stehen am Himmel, als hier Punkte auf dem Papier, zählt sie nur.' Aber niemand war dazu imstand. Sprach der König 'die dritte Frage lautet: wie viel Sekunden hat die Ewigkeit?' Da sagte das Hirtenbüblein 'in Hinterpommern liegt der Demantberg, der hat eine Stunde in die Höhe, eine Stunde in die Breite und eine Stunde in die Tiefe; dahin kommet alle hundert Jahr ein Vöglein und wetzt sein Schnäbelein daran, und wenn der ganze Berg abgewetzt ist, dann ist die erste Sekunde von der Ewigkeit vorbei.'

Sprach der König 'du hast die drei Fragen aufgelöst wie ein Weiser und sollst fortan bei mir in meinem königlichen Schlosse wohnen, und ich will dich ansehen wie mein eigenes Kind.'

There was once upon a time a shepherd boy whose fame spread far and wide because of the wise answers which he gave to every question. The King of the country heard of it likewise, but did not believe it, and sent for the boy. Then he said to him: "If you can give me an answer to three questions which I will ask you, I will look on you as my own child, and you shall dwell with me in my royal palace." The boy said: "What are the three questions?" The King said: "The first is, how many drops of water are there in the ocean?" The shepherd boy answered: "Lord King, if you will have all the rivers on earth dammed up so that not a single drop runs from them into the sea until I have counted it, I will tell you how many drops there are in the sea." The King said: "The next question is, how many stars are there in the sky?" The shepherd boy said: "Give me a great sheet of white paper," and then he made so many fine points on it with a pen that they could scarcely be seen, and it was all but impossible to count them; any one who looked at them would have lost his sight. Then he said: "There are as many stars in the sky as there are points on the paper; just count them." But no one was able to do it. The King said: "The third question is, how many seconds

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of time are there in eternity?" Then said the shepherd boy: "In Lower Pomerania is the Diamond Mountain, which is two miles high, two miles wide, and two miles deep; every hundred years a little bird comes and sharpens its beak on it, and when the whole mountain is worn away by this, then the first second of eternity will be over."

The King said: "You have answered the three questions like a wise man, and shall henceforth dwell with me in my royal palace, and I will regard you as my own child."

If you shall regard story-telling as having functional value, and even if you do not, you may like to hear this as well.

A bishop once had written over his gates and doors that he was the wisest man on earth. When the king heard of this he naturally got angry and sent word to the bishop that he should come to the castle, for the king wanted to speak to him. When the bishop came the king asked whether the bishop believed that he was the wisest person existing. The bishop answered yes to this, of course.

"Go home and come back in four days," said the king; "then I will ask you four more questions. If you can answer them you must be the wisest and if not, you must die."

The bishop came home and he did not feel very well about all this. Now, he had an old shepherd who noticed that the bishop was upset. He asked what he was so upset about, but the bishop did not want to tell him; but finally the shepherd made him tell. "That is not so bad," said the shepherd; "you can let me put on your clothes and have your silver-mounted pipe in my mouth and your silver-tipped stick in my hand."

He then traveled to the king, and the servant went in and announced that the bishop had arrived. The king then came in and walked back and forth over the floor. He said: "Can you tell me how fast I can travel around the world?" "If your Majesty has a horse that can follow the sun you can travel around the world in twenty-four hours." The king could not say that that was a lie. "Can you tell me how far it is from earth to heaven?" "If your Majesty is good at throwing stones, it is only a stone's throw." "Can you tell me how much I am worth?" "You are only worth twenty-eight pieces of silver; Jesus, our savior, was sold for thirty pieces of silver, and he should be worth two more pieces, I think." "Can you tell me what I am thinking?" said the king. "You think that I am the bishop, but I am really nothing but his shepherd."

This is how the king kept the shepherd and the bishop kept his head.

Finally, I should like you to listen to the following:

1. A story, a story, a story anon
   I'll tell unto thee concerning King John
   He had a great mind for to make himself merry
   So he called for the Bishop of Canterbury
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
2. Good morning, good morning, the old king did say
   I've called you to ask you questions three
   And if you don't answer them all right
   Your head shall be taken from your body quite.
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
3. My first question is, and that without doubt
   How long I'l' be travelling this whole world about
   And the next question is when I sit in state
   With my gold crown upon my pate
   And all the nobility join in great mirth
   You must tell to one penny just what I am worth.
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
4. And the last question is and when I do wink
   You must tell to me presently what I do think
   . . .
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
5. As the old bishop was returning home
   He met his young shepherd and him all alone
   Good morning, good morning, the young man did say,
   What news do you bring from the old King today?
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
6. O very bad news, the old bishop did say,
   The King has asked me questions three
   And if I don't answer them all right
   My head shall be taken from my body quite.
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
7. Well, I'm sorry a man of such learning as thee
   Can't go back and answer the king's questions three
   But if you will lend me a suit of apparel
   I'll go to King John and settle the quarrel.
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
8. A suit of apparel I freely will give
   And ten thousand pounds as sure as you live
   And now the young shepherd has gone to King John
   To settle the quarrel that he had begun.
   Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-de-dum-day.
9. Good morning, good morning, the young shepherd did say,
   I've called to answer your questions three
   Your first question is and that without doubt
   How long you'll be travelling this whole world about
   If you start with the sun and you travel the same

In twenty-four hours you'll come back again.
Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-
de-dum-day.

10. The next question is when you sit in state
With your gold crown upon your pate
And all the nobility join in great (mirth)
I'm to tell to one penny just what you are worth.
Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-
de-dum-day.

11. For thirty gold pieces our dear Lord was sold
By those old Jews so brazen and bold
And for twenty-nine pieces I think you'll just do
For I'm sure he was one piece better than you.
Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-
de-dum-day.

12. The last question is and when you do wink
I'm to tell to you presently what you do think
And that I will do if 't will make your heart merry
You think I'm the Bishop of Canterbury.
Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-
de-dum-day.

13. And that I am not as is very well known
I am his young shepherd and him all alone
Go tell the old bishop, go tell him for me
That his young shepherd has outwitted me.
Lolli-doll-lay, Lolli-doll-luddy-tri-ol-
de-dum-day.

Even those of us who have never had any formal training in the study of comparative folklore in general, or in the historio-geographical method of the Finnish school of folktale research in particular, will have recognised that the narratives above—whether spoken or sung—are basically four versions of the same story. The first of these variants which quite clearly belongs to the well-known and prolific cycle of the Pat and Mike stories, was collected by Arthur Huff Fauset around 1925 from Charles McIvor, then again about '45, from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia (Fauset 1931: XII and 53). The second was the Brothers Grimm's no. 152 "Das Hirtenbüblein" (The Shepherd Boy), in the words of the eighth edition of 1864, with a translation by Margaret Hunt (Grimm 1944: 651-652). Our third version was of Danish origin in the English translation included by the grandmaster of American folktale studies, Stith Thompson, in his selection of *One Hundred Favorite Folktales* (Thompson 1968. 362). The story in song was rendered by Warde H. Ford, who sang the ballad for Sidney Robertson Cowell at Central Valley, California, in 1938 (Bronson 1959: 10-12). The recording is now in the Archive of Folksong of the Library of Congress and has been published by them on disc (AAFS L57: A5).

Nova Scotia (with obvious Irish connections), Germany, Denmark, and the west coast of California (with an English background) are the geographical regions in which our four versions were collected, and it is clear that none of the countries involved could claim this particular story as their very own. As it turns out, these countries are by no means the only ones in which this tale has been found because we know from Walter Anderson's extensive researches that 410 oral and 161 literary variants of our story were known in the second decade of this century (Anderson 1923: 76) and undoubtedly others have been unearthed or recorded in the last 50 years. Anderson demonstrates (*ibid.* 77-79) that in Europe the story was known among the Irish, the Scots, the Bretons, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Catalans, the French, the Walloon-speaking Belgians, the Italians, the Rumanians, the Germans, the Dutch, the Flemish, the Frisians, the English, the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Icelanders, the Lithuanians, the Latvians, the Great Russians, the White Russians, the Ukranians, the Poles, the Kashubians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, the Serbs, the Croats, the Bulgarians, the Finns, the Estonians, the Hungarians, the Turks, the Basques, the Greeks, and the Jews; it is also on record from the Tartars, from certain Caucasus peoples and the Singhalese, as well as in Arabic, Coptic, and Anglo-American versions.

I have listed the various peoples concerned individually—instead of simply saying "throughout Europe, etc."—because this catalog is very convincing evidence that our story is not limited in distribution by speech communities or language families, by national boundaries, by ethnic groups, by geographical factors, or by any other social, economic, religious, or anthropological trait we might think of. It is truly a European story with Asiatic and trans-Atlantic extensions.

This internationality is reflected by its entry in the "Bible" of folktale research, Antti Aarne's and Stith Thompson's *The Types of the Folktale*, in which it is listed as Type 922, under the title of "The Shepherd substituting for the Priest Answers the King's Questions" or "The King and the Abbot" (Aarne-Thompson 1964: 320-321). The ballad version is one of the 12 variants printed by Bronson in the first volume of his monumental w rk "The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads" (Bronson 1959: 357). Our ballad is in fact Child 45 "King John and the Bishop," although Francis James Child himself only collected 2 versions, one from the Percy MS. and one from a 17th-century broadside (Child 1965: 410-414).

You will have noticed that our 4 variants differ from each other both in the questions and in the personnel involved. Anderson noted 16 different recurring questions and slightly more answers since some of the questions can be answered "satisfactorily" in a number of ways. He gave the questions alphabetical let er identifications from A to Q. Within this framework, our Nova Scotian version utilizes question J,

H, and Q (in that order), i.e., How heavy is the moon? How many stars are in the sky? and what am I (or will I be) thinking? In the Grimm story, we find questions C (How much water is in the sea?), H (How many stars are in the sky?) and Z^{32} (How many seconds are there in eternity?; the last of these is one of 65 questions which Anderson lumps together under the letter Z because they are not very relevant statistically: Thompson's Danish variant shows the sequence F^4 (How fast can I travel around the world?, a variant of How wide is the world?), A (How high is the sky?), N (How much am I worth?), and Q (What am I thinking?). Notice the sequence of four questions, not three; of the first two one seems to be redundant. This conjecture is supported by the ballad version which preserves the combination F^4, N, Q, i.e., it is identical with the Danish variant but does not have question A.

The trick in all the questions lies, of course, in the fact that they ask the answer to quantify the unquantifiable. The answers have to counter this trick by giving uncheckable quantities or by referring to an unchallengeable set of values. Question Q and its answer live on the substitution of an answer different from the person questioned. They are therefore significantly absent from the Grimm story in which no such substitution takes place.

This brings us to the personnel of the tale. In the Grimm version, as we have just noted, the riddles are answered in a straightforward confrontation between the king as questioner and the shepherd boy as answerer who is suitably rewarded without even having been threatened. The Nova Scotian account has a government official as the questioner, the Irishman Pat as the questioned and as the answering substitute, his brother Mike. We do not know whether Mike was considered more intelligent than Pat or whether, having advance notice of the question, the substitution is simply adequate and clear preparation for question three, "What am I thinking?" Perhaps a little of both is implied. One can only assume that, in spite of this deception, Pat did get the government job that he was after (perhaps this was the best possible qualification for it). In the story from Denmark we are back with the king as questioner but have a boastful bishop as the person questioned and his old shepherd as the answerer substituting for him and saving his life. The ballad, finally, personifies the king as King John, the bishop as the Bishop of Canterbury, and calls the answerer "his young shepherd." Again the king is outwitted and the shepherd saves the bishop's life. The threat to behead him is so much more weakly motivated, however, since the bishop does not seem to have boasted of his wisdom and since the king simply "had a great mind to make himself merry." Out of such royal caprices are riddle stories born! In other ballad variants, royal jealousy of the bishop's "housekeeping and high renown" are given as the king's motive. The questions are always the same although sometimes the order of the first two is reversed and in one version we only have two questions instead of three.

Anderson used both the sets of questions and the changing personnel of the story as evidence in his reconstruction of the earliest version, the chronology of its development and changes, as well as the path of its diffusion. In addition, he was able to utilize for absolute dating purposes a certain number of early literary variants which have survived to the present day. Within the context of our own examination, it is not necessary to know exactly what the so-called earliest version looked like; scholarly opinion has changed somewhat in the last twenty years anyhow, with regard to the reconstruction of archetypal forms of a tale. What does interest us, however, is the quite convincing assumption that the story originated in a Jewish parish in the Near East, perhaps in Egypt, and it is significant that the earliest recorded version is a Coptic variant of about 850 A.D. written down by an Arabian author. It is possible that the story reached Western Europe with the French crusaders in the 13th century and that round about this time, or perhaps slightly earlier, the New Testament question "How much am I worth?" with the answer "29 pieces of silver, for Christ was sold for 30", had been added. This is a question which became especially popular and is found in the two versions under discussion in which a bishop is involved.

The original final question seems to have been "What is God doing?" demanding an answer from scripture like 1st Samuel 2: 6-8: "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up. The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich: he bringeth low, and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of Glory." At the end of this answer and with this scriptural reference in mind, the answerer would usurp the questioning king's throne and perhaps even kill him. In the 14th century German and Italian versions replace this by "How far is it from good luck to bad luck?" with the answer "One night, for I was a shepherd yesterday and am an abbot today." This answer is possible because by that time the abbot had become the person questioned and the role of the answering person had been given to a shepherd or miller, who upon giving the "correct" replies was elevated to the abbot's position. Finally, about 1500 the question "What am I thinking?" becomes entrenched in the all-important final position in the set, and we now have it in three of our four versions. This question with its inevitable repy does, of course, exploit the whole process of substitution and disguise to the full and has probably become the most popular

question for that reason. Anderson estimates that it is used in 63.9% of all the variants he investigated, its nearest and only rival being question N "How much am I worth?" with 52.3%. None of the other questions appears in more than a quarter of the variants. The inscription motif which we have in our Danish version "I am the wisest man on earth" or, as it is sometimes phrased, "I have no troubles," only makes an appearance in our story shortly before 1700, and presumably summed up the boastfulness of the bishop or abbot so well that it has remained in many versions as the stumbling block which prompts the king to ask his three questions.

There must have been much in this tale of the boastful priest, the jealous ruler and the clever shepherd to which audiences all over Europe, and latterly also on this side of the Atlantic, could respond easily and with satisfaction; and there is surely a pointer here to social attitudes, with regard to both the storyteller and his listeners, when in the end, the shepherd, or miller, or servant—in fact, just the kind of person with whom the listeners can identify, scores a triumphant win over both his superiors. Take, in addition the love of the folk for riddles and riddle contests—and the kind of questions asked in our story do, after all, also occur on their own and without a narrative context, as riddles—and you have an almost perfect story, which, if at all well told, could not fail to be a favorite on all those occasions in which stories were won't to be told. It is certainly one of my own favorites, as you will have noticed by now (not only because Walter Anderson was one of my teachers 20 years ago).

Perhaps that explains why I have been spending so much of my time outlining this particular tale, and you may well be asking yourselves what this analysis of the plot, development, diffusion, distribution, and impact of AT 922 has to do with the main theme on which I have agreed to speak this morning. Well, basically my explanation would probably be this: The story—whether told or sung—of "The King and the Bishop" is one of the best examples known to me of an item in the folk repertoire which can be called at the same time national and international in character. When told of King John and the Archbishop of Canterbury it is clearly an English tale; when King James V is the questioner it makes its home in Scotland; when Czar Peter the Great is the royal personage involved, the story is immediately and unmistakably Russian; and so on. And yet, in its basic theme, in the general social scale expressed, descending from ruler via priest to miller or shepherd or cook or sexton, in its ascending set of three or four riddles, it obviously transcends all national boundaries and is a truly international tale. What I am trying to say is that it is not its inclusion in the Tale Type or Ballad indices which makes it an international tale but something which goes far beyond any number in an acknowledged and scholarly index. Its classification as AT 922 does not make it international, even if it does reflect a wide geographical distinction, but the clever victory of the ordinary man in the street, albeit in disguise, over the priest and ruler does.

There is another reason why I have chosen to single out one particular tale rather than speak about a number of them or perhaps even roam through the full range of the lore of the folk, and that is this: somehow, recognized indices like the Aarne-Thompson index, or more or less closed canons like the Child Ballads, give users, the former in a wider, the latter in a slightly more limited sense, the (as I think) mistaken notion that there is such a thing as an international "pool" of stories or songs from which each nation picks those items which it finds most convenient, enjoyable and suitable, in this way making up its own national folklore. In turn, this leads to the even more erroneous idea that if one can assign a story an appropriate AT number or identify a ballad with a certain number in the Child classification, this act in itself makes the story or ballad better and more worthy of attention. I feel that if someone were to make the opposite claim, saying that what we might call "international" folklore is in fact non-existent without the contributions made by all or most national repertoires of folk items, we would be much nearer the truth.

However, even the picture of "international folklore" as the sum total or at least an accumulation of many national "folklores" would be too simplistic and would not do justice to the complex interaction which does take place in reality and which, in many instances, makes an opposition *national* vs. *international* meaningless or even misleading. AT 922, in its more than a thousand years of wanderings in which it acquired its right to be listed in an international Tale Type Index, must have been a national French tale when told in France, a German story when told in Germany, a Danish narrative when told in Denmark. It is indeed the fact that it existed, and still exists, simultaneously or in chronological sequence, as a French, German, Danish, Swedish, English, American story which gives it international calibre. On the other hand, there is now no nation which can claim this particular narrative as its very own, however deeply it may appear to be rooted in certain national soils. International borrowing and adaptation, i.e., borrowing and adaptation between the nations, is clearly a significant and essential feature of the history and present existence of our tale. Migration and re-rooting have both contributed much to this process, and this is of course not only true of AT 922-cum-Child 45. I might just as well have chosen the story of "The Two Brothers" (AT 303), the Cinderella story (AT 510A), or

the adventures of the Bremen Town Musicians (AT 130) to make my point.

It is also self-evident, I hope, that I do not restrict the process I have just outlined to folk-narrative items or that I share a certain view which more or less equates folklore with "folk literature." My own view of what constitutes folklore is indeed a very broad one and, taking it as synonymous with or inclusive of "folk-life", includes everything from stories, songs, riddles, proverbs, children's games, counting-out rhymes, dances, folk music, to house types, agricultural techniques and implements, folk art, beliefs, superstitions, customs, and calendar festivals—and this list is by no means complete, and because of my own special interest I should like to make a special plea for the inclusion of folk-naming, both with respect to persons and places. The operative qualifying term which I tend to use as a restricting epithet for this fairly comprehensive array of materials fit for study by the folklorist is "traditional" although in some respects this raises more problems than it solves. What I mean is something handed down from generation to generation, with the additional implication of Latin *traditio* and its etymological connection with *tradere* "to give across," i.e., an active giving of something received and adopted. Until recently I have normally seen this process of tradition as more or less equivalent with "oral transmission", but I have come to the conclusion that there are now many areas of folklore in which one must at least admit or acknowledge written influence in a literate society, although our gradual movement into a kind of post-literate age (which embraces the literate but does not insist or rely on it exclusively) will perhaps give the oral process a new lease of life within the area of verbal transmission, perhaps linked with a strong non-verbal or visual element. Furthermore, there are, of course, aspects of folklore, mainly within the fields of customs and material culture, in which non-verbal transmission by example or gesture has always been predominant.

Similarly I do not hold any narrow views with regard to the concept of "folk." I certainly do not think that the "folk" only live somewhere in Vance Randolph's Ozarks, in the Ritchies' Kentucky or in the Adirondacks, in largely rural relic areas which tend to preserve traditions more easily, to be more conservative and slow to change. If we were to look for nothing but "survivals" from a golden age—and one of the most important impulses which created the science, the discipline of folklore was, of course, just that kind of search—then we would go to exactly those areas rather than into the towns and cities. As soon as we relegate the notion of "survivals," however deteriorated, to the corner in folklore research to which it belongs, then we can start looking for the folk here in Erie, back in Binghamton, and also in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York City. In fact, there are probably very few people in this room today who are not, even if only passively, involved in the transmission of at least the preservation and application of traditional lore received from their elders. It is no exaggeration to say that "we are the folk," and once we begin to realize this we shall stop identifying the "folk" with the "others" who live in some imaginary world in which time stands still and people preserve a culture uncontaminated by the technological age to which we have succumbed. If you have ever heard a joke—let us say, about Spiral Agnes—, liked it and told it again, you are one of the folk. If you have ever avoided flying on Friday the 13th, you are one of the folk. If you have ever demanded "Trick or Treat" at Halloween, you are one of the folk. If you have ever used that recipe which your mother or maybe your grandmother used so successfully before you, you are one of the folk. If you say "Bless you" or "Gesundheit" when somebody sneezes, if you have every told the story of "Cinderella" or "The Sleeping Beauty" to your children at nighttime or to your Kindergarten class, if you have ever played "Musical Chairs," if you have ever counted "Eenie, meenie, minie, mo . . .", if you have ever written something on a bathroom wall—you are one of the folk. If you have ever said "Birds of a feather flock together," if you have ever thought that your stepping on a crack in the sidewalk might break your mother's back, if you have ever rejoiced in a glowing sunset because "Red sky at night is the shepherd's (or sailor's) delight"—you are one of the folk. There is industrial folklore, campus folklore, political folklore, and computer folklore. There is educational, medical, sexual, and religious folklore. There is the folklore of the academe. Folklore is right among us because "we are the folk."

That does not turn us all into first-rate informants for the canning devices of the folklore collector, professional or amateur. We all know of individuals who tell particularly good jokes, who have a great store of songs, who know many children's games well, who paint or carve exquisitely simple things without any training, who are experts in latrinalia. These active performers and tradition-bearers stand out in any group or community, and not infrequently their parents, grandparents, and ancestors before them are known to have been just as good and just as outstanding. It is not the whole group, the whole community that passes on the lore, however much they are involved in using it, but rather the select few whom the experienced collector will be led to or will seek out after only a few inquiries. Good tradition bearers are usually well known in the communities in which they live. They know more than everybody else knows, and they know it better.

Once we realize this fact and abandon even the faintest echo of Herder's *Volksseele* or

"soul of the people", we shall perhaps also see our oppositional dichotomy, national vs. international folklore, in a new light. What we now have is on the one hand Tale Type AT 922 with such-and-such a geographical distribution being told in so many languages amongst the nationals of so many countries, with so many variants, etc.—against this well-known storyteller who tells the story of how the boastful bishop saved his life by allowing his shepherd to answer three "unanswerable" questions in disguise—or, even more specifically, Warde N. Ford, who sang the ballad of "King John and the Bishop" in Central Valley, California, on December 25, 1938—a ballad which he had learned from his mother, Mrs. J. C. Ford of Crandon, Wisconsin. On that day in December, 1938, it was recorded by Sidney Roberson Cowell, who may have been the only listener, or there may have been a large audience in what Kenneth Goldstein calls an "induced natural context" (Goldstein 1964: 87). As further categories between this individual performance and recreation of the ballad and its internationality we might think of all kinds of social, ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, geographic and other groupings, apart from, and in addition to, the national ascription which we have already discussed in detail.

You will by now be aware of the fact that I tend to put great stress on the functional, individual, creative performance with all the circumstances and conditions under which it takes place, in order to isolate and recover it from the tape archives, motif and type indices of the archivist and scholar. I have, however, on the other hand also emphasized sufficiently, I hope, that none of the groups above—social, ethnic, religious, etc.—should in any way pride itself in, or make a cause for self-congratulation or a rallying point of, the folklore it apparently "owns." That kind of proprietary attitude is quickly diminished by the "international" character, or at least the "international" distribution, of so much folk material. We all remember only too well what the identification of folk with nation and the inordinate and grossly exaggerated exploitation of "national folklore" did in a certain country in Europe between 1933-1945.

If we are to regard, interpret, and use folklore, as the theme of this Conference states, "as a cultural resource," we cannot be reminded of this abuse too often, and personally I can only hope and pray that the so-called Ethnic Task Force will never get hold of folklore for its purposes, for a denial of positive acculturation is bound to look at tales, songs, proverbs, games, and dances, through a distorting mirror.

If, on the other hand, we are mindful of this warning and do not act like either the boastful bishop or the jealous king, then folklore can indeed become a cultural resource, i.e., an invigorating and renewing factor in the maintenance or reshaping of a culture. If we further link it with the vehicle of that particular culture, whether it be French, Spanish, German, or, dare I say it, American English, then the signs are hopeful that a useful and fruitful combination has been established. Folklore is interwoven into the whole texture of culture whenever the folk are part of it. Is it therefore not unnatural that only the poetry, prose and dramatic dialogue of the so-called great authors are normally studied as representatives of a linguistic community's total artistic achievements? Are the Goethes, Heines, Molières, Hugos, Cervantes, Lope de Vegas really the only writers worth including in a foreign language program? What about reading the text of the Oberammergau Passion Play for a change, or folktales from Chile, or examining the folklore of Alsace perhaps even in its cross-cultural and bilingual implications, or focusing on protest songs in one's poetry sessions, as long as like ballads they are not just treated as printed texts? An abundance of published material is available in all languages, much of it quite closer to spoken German, Spanish, French, or whatever language you may choose than any of the poems, dramas, and novels which fill the prescribed reading lists at present. In this age of desperate searching for identities and for the new and the un-established, the human and the humane, contact with the folk and their lore should be at worst a challenging, at best a creative and responsive, experience, one which in turn may help to reinstate the study of foreign languages, or at least of one foreign language, as the essential basis for seeing the world and people around us without any blinkers and for making us more tolerant of others.

In my undergraduate folklore class at Binghamton I mainly insist on exposing students to actual folk material and its analysis, in addition to making participants go out and collect such material. I use recordings a great deal but also bring live folk artists into class, and at present we are also preparing a folk concert to be given by singers and musicians in our midst, at the very end of the couse. It has been my experience that the student generation of today responds easily and gladly to the impulses received in such an exposure, and there is hope that their responsiveness will lead to a new responsibility.

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